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ABSTRACT

Experiences of 60 women over 30 years old who returned to college after being out of school at least four years were studied. Thirty graduates and 30 undergraduate students were interviewed. Institutional barriers women confront include inadequate student services, limitations on financial aid, and admission practices and screening procedures discriminating against older students or women. Student experiences about the following are discussed: faculty/staff attitudes to older re-entry women, nontraditional credits, scheduling and other academic reforms, academic counseling, and special services. Situational barriers include unfamiliarity with the system, financial need, time management and role strain, child care, rusty skills and inadequate preparation. Support of the women's reentry family and friends, commuting, health and fatigue, and problems of guilt and anxiety are considered. Policy recommendations, a list of interview questions, and statistical data concerning respondents are included. (SW)

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BARRIERS TO EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR RE-ENTRY WOMEN IN PRIVATE UNIVERSITIES

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October, 1979

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BARRIERS TO EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR RE-ENTRY WOMEN IN PRIVATE UNIVERSITIES

by Esther Benjamin and Judith Levy

Introduction

American women are changing their commitments and ambitions. This change is reflected in a rising level of educational attainment. Not only are more women attending college now than ever before (Van Dusen and Sheldon, 1976) but more older women are returning to school to complete an interrupted education. In 1976, 958,000 adult women returned to campus to continue their studies (Young, 1977).

Most returning women attend state and community colleges, evening divisions, and continuing education programs with special arrangements for older students. Title IX (of the Educational Amendments of 1972), however, has created the expectation that elite universities and colleges also have a responsibility to returning women with the ability and motivation to obtain a degree. Little is known, however, about the remaining barriers to educational achievement facing older women at the more prestigious schools. This study reports on the experiences of sixty women at such an elite institution to learn what barriers still exist and to see how they are overcome.

The data suggest that returning women find attending the university a challenging and rewarding experience. Yet they must overcome personal and institutional difficulties even before admission as well as during their studies. Re-entry women students must fit their educational aspirations into an organization developed to recruit and graduate successive cohorts of eighteen-year-old freshmen. From a sociological perspective, re-entry women can be seen as embarking on a special kind of marginal career. That is, they are not expected to appear as students on campus in this period of their life cycle (Hughes, 1958). Returning students are, in effect, pioneers, creating new career timetables (Roth, 1963) when there is no clearly specified role for someone of their age and life experience within the formal agency of socialization.

Let us turn now to the difficulties these women faced at our elite university, discussing their perceptions of institutional, situational and dispositional barriers to completing education. Ekstrum (1972) explains this classification of obstacles as the following:

(1) Institutional Barriers --
Difficulties with admissions practices, financial aid, student services, and negative attitudes of faculty and staff.

(2) Situational Barriers --
Personal circumstances likely to affect a woman's progress, including marital tension, lack of child care arrangements, insufficient resources, and rusty skills.

(3) Dispositional Barriers --
The woman's concept of herself and of her world which make it difficult for her as a student, including feelings of guilt, role strain, and academic anxiety.*

Method and Sample

Data were collected during the Fall, Winter, and Spring Quarters of 1978-79 in focused interviews with sixty women in the College of Arts and Sciences who were over thirty years of age or who had been out of school for at least four years. Every undergraduate who could be located through a computer search of university records or by word of mouth was asked to participate. (University records identifying this age group had been kept for the past one and one-half years.) Graduate students were selected from a computer listing by department of women born before 1947 who had been enrolled at the university over the past five years.

Of those who were contacted, three graduates and three undergraduates declined to participate in the study. The final group consists of the first thirty graduates and the thirty undergraduates who could be located and who agreed to the interview. One of the undergraduates interviewed had been accepted at this university but chose, at the last minute, to enroll elsewhere. The average length of each interview was about two and one-half hours. (A copy of the interview questions appears in the appendix.) Of the sixty women who did participate, nine had dropped out of school, ten had graduated, and forty-one were in school when interviewed.

The ages of the women in the sample ranged from 25 to 63 with a median age of thirty-five. Forty-five of the women were married, eleven were separated, widowed, or divorced, and four had never married. Forty-six of the women had children. Total family incomes of the women ranged from a low of $3,000 to $4,999 a year to a high of over $50,000. Median total family income fell between $25,000 and $34,000 a year, with a definite clustering in the higher income categories.

In general, the profile respondents provide suggests a group of women drawn primarily from traditional middle-class life styles. Their family income and their husbands' occupational status are relatively high. (More than half of them report family incomes over $25,000 with husbands in professional occupations.) And most of the women are white. Mostly married, but with a significant minority (11% of the 56 marrieds) now single, this group also reflects the new trends in marriage and family (See Tables 2-7, Appendix).

*The report is ordered and numbered to correspond to the Benjamin (1979) review of current literature on returning women at other institutions entitled "Barriers to Academic Re-entry Women and How to Overcome Them." By turning from this report to those sections in the review that are of particular interest, a reader can compare our findings to those at other schools and also find a summary of the literature on an individual topic.

Now let us turn to a discussion of the barriers women have faced at this university in order to understand not only how difficult this marginal role as older woman student may be but also to learn how the structure of university life may unwittingly impede the passage -- and the intellectual development -- of some of its most committed and motivated students.

IV. Institutional Barriers

Institutional barriers women confront include inadequate student services, limitations on financial aid, and admission practices and screening procedures discriminating against older students or women. Let us consider how these obstacles present themselves at our university.

IV. A. 1. Regulations

Unlike many private universities and state schools with relatively open admission policies, this elite university maintains its standing by selecting only those applicants for admission whose past educational performances reflect a history of academic excellence and commitment. Since the University receives many applications each year, screening devices are used to determine students with the greatest academic potential, who also are likely to remain in school and obtain their degrees. By requiring applicants to supply letters of recommendation, scores on national standardized examinations, and transcripts of past work, the University can construct a profile of each potential student to guide selection or rejection. When compared to a younger student with a more traditional educational background, the older woman who applies for admission is disadvantaged unless somewhat different standards are used to assess her potential. Let us examine each criteria used to demonstrate the problem.

IV. A. 2. Applications and Admissions

All students who apply are required to supply the university with transcripts of their previous work. Since these records are usually available for a small fee by writing to the schools the student has attended, few re-entry women reported difficulties in providing these documents. When problems did arise, they were typical of the mix-ups that occur in any large bureaucracy. A more serious problem arose for women with poor academic backgrounds, because they were judged on student performance from years ago. Although they were now more mature or in a different set of circumstances, their previous records were taken as an indication that they would be a poor risk. "I was told it would be competitive, worse than anything I had done," explained one woman with a poor undergraduate record. "They didn't think that I could make it." "Instead (school) was comfortable and incredible ... It was getting over admissions that was the hardest part."

Informant reports suggest that previous grades may be poor predictors of student potential. As a group, the re-entry women achieved excellent academic records. Those who had been good students in the past continued to be good students, while over half the women said that they had become even better. Only 8% (7) reported that their grades had

dropped. There was thus little indication that poor achievement in the past was a good predictor of performance at this University.

Scores of the Scholastic Aptitude Test (SAT), the American College Test (ACT) or the Graduate Record Examination (GRE) are the second screening device the University uses to sift through potential students. The University required sixty per cent of the undergraduates and eighty per cent of the graduate students in our sample to take one of these exams. Those who were not asked to submit scores were women who were entering the university through alternative gateways: 1) they had applied to graduate departments with fewer applicants than open positions; 2) they worked at the University and were taking courses as part of their staff privileges; or 3) they had been admitted to the University through the personal intercession of a faculty or staff member.

Because the University was willing to accept the results of SATS taken during high school, the undergraduate women, except three who had never taken the exam, reported no difficulties in supplying their scores. Graduate women, however, did encounter problems. GRE results are only valid for five years, so several women had to retake the exam, and many women had never taken them at all. Of the twenty-five graduate respondents required to supply GRE scores, almost half reported feeling "anxious" or even "terrified" about taking the exam.

The respondents most commonly reported fearing the math portion of the exam. Women who had always had trouble with mathematics or who had not used algebra or other advanced calculations in the last few years were afraid that they would score too low to be admitted. At the same time, mothers involved primarily with children feared that their verbal skills had eroded:

> Being with small children all the time, I began to talk like them. You don't even get a chance to finish your sentence. You begin to use simple words.

Respondents also found that they had forgotten how to take an exam:

> I had to figure out where to fill in the lines and what to circle. This gave me a problem. I was a high school counselor once so I was used to giving these tests. So it was frustrating to find out now that I had problems taking them.

Finally, the anxiety over the test the women felt may have sometimes had a negative effect on their results:

> I remember I was dizzy with a high temperature. I walked out (of the exam) thinking that it was just hopeless. I waited every day at the mail box just to see the score. I think I worried myself into being sick.

Another respondent recounted that a returning woman warned her that when she took the exam, "the young kids would finish and make her nervous."

She had to say to herself, "I will not throw up, I will not throw up."

In order to do well on the exam and thus improve their chances for admission, women used whatever strategies they felt might help. They hired tutors to teach them math, studied textbooks and remedial booklets, or enrolled in courses in the community designed to improve test scores. They also picked test days and sites they felt were optimal and, if their test scores were too low, wrote to the department explaining their special circumstance. One woman who had "trained" rigorously laughed when a counselor asked if she would like to retake the exam to improve her score:

> He didn't realize that was the best I would ever be able to do in my entire life and that it was probably downhill after that.

The third screening procedure for undergraduates is an interview with an admissions officer to discuss educational goals and plans. While this meeting can serve as an information and planning session for potential students, it also allows the University to assess the applicant's potential before deciding on admission. The women had therefore to give an appropriate reason for wanting to return to school and create the appearance of someone likely to be successful. Many women reported that they understood the purpose of the interview and took pains to make themselves appear "as attractive as possible." Unfortunately, other women did not understand this aspect of the interview. If they made the appointment before definitely deciding to return to school or thinking through their educational goals, they damaged their chances of admission by appearing uncommitted or unfocussed.

Graduate students are usually judged by letters of recommendation rather than an interview. These letters could pose a serious problem for the woman out of school for some time. As older respondents remarked, their former teachers were often "dead by now" or " would hardly be able to remember me." In the more prestigious departments, the competition for positions was so stiff that it was not sufficient simply to get good letters; they had to be from someone with some rank or stature in the field:

> I had a Senator and my rabbi writing my recommendations and I thought there would be no problem. Then one day the university called and said that my rabbi and the Senator had no meaning in this life. Without academic credentials, I could forget it.

Some women were able to use recommendations by professors they had met by calling up the department and then sitting in on their classes informally until they had established a rapport. Nevertheless, about 20% of the respondents reported that getting recommendation letters had been a problem. If women are unable to surmount this barrier, it may affect their admission.

In sum, the University used letters of recommendation, personal interviews, standardized test scores, and past grades to decide whether or not to admit the re-entry women. A history of salaried employment or recent

educational experience at another university enhanced the likelihood that a re-entry woman would be accepted. But a number had difficulties meeting the screening expectations. And yet, 20% of the women were admitted even though they had not been in school in recent years. The University, then, seemed willing to take some risk for "unproven" applicants. It is important to remember, however, that the women in this study had persisted to become students. Other potential applicants without resources -- the money to hire a tutor or the proper personal contacts, for example -- or without determination may have disappeared through the screening process. For those women, selection devices are an insurmountable barrier.

IV. A. 3. Faculty/Staff Attitudes

The undergraduate catalog reads:

> Older students who find they are able to resume a full-time college program that may have been disrupted a number of years earlier are encouraged to apply ... Their presence in the classroom is both desireable and is encouraged by our faculty.

Although the University has made an effort during the past five years to open its doors to older students, re-entry women find applying to the University "scary" because they generally believe the University "really doesn't want returning people." Their fear of being seen as a "(suburban) matron with a rich husband who paid for her application" makes women reluctant to apply. Accounts given by women who applied prior to 1973 suggest that they were systematically discouraged in the past:

> He (the dean) told me that Northwestern didn't encourage returning students. They had one or two they were letting in under the wire but they basically wanted the 19-21 year-old with 600 boards (scores on standardized tests).

This University appears to be trying to counter these negative images by making a real effort to admit more returning students. The results are most apparent at the undergraduate level, where 60% of the respondents reported that they found applying to Northwestern a positive experience.

On a graduate level, however, a lag remains between official policy and actual practice. Eighty-six per cent of the graduate respondents reported that they had encountered a negative reaction or some discouragement either during the admissions process or when they first entered their department. The wide discrepancy between the undergraduate and graduate experience is in part explained by the way applicants are selected at each level. Undergraduates' applications are processed by the undergraduate Admissions Office. Any contact the applicant has with the University typically occurs with Admissions staff well acquainted with University policy. On the other hand the responsibility for the selection of graduate students lies with the individual department once the graduate school has approved a candidate. Consequently, returning women often speak to and negotiate with faculty and staff at the departmental level where personal attitudes on student recruitment may or nay not reflect University policy. Thus a re-entry woman may

call a department and get a positive "ambassador":

> I met the man who is head of the department. He was very charming and pleasant and made (applying) as painless as possible.

Or a very negative one:

> He (the faculty member) led me to believe that I wouldn't get in because (1) I was female; (2) I wanted to come part-time; and (3) I was older. He warned me there would be no financial aid.

Negative experiences at both the undergraduate and graduate levels centered on four major concerns: age, commitment, gender, and the ability to manage multiple roles. Women reported that some faculty and university personnel appeared to believe that the older student "is better off in the evening division where they will be among other students of their own age group." The woman who wanted to attend regular classes sometimes found that she was treated suspiciously by some faculty or staff:

> When I asked what was the percentage of people in my age, he (the counselor) had no idea. He said there were so few. He wanted to know why I wanted to be with younger people. Most of his questions were that kind of thing ... questioning my motives.

Some departments, particularly those in traditionally male dominated areas, were perceived as not wanting women of any age:

> When I first arrived in the department, there was one woman professor and she's gone. A second one entered the department but she'll be gone next year. There are a number of professors on the faculty who feel women don't belong in either the field or the department.

Women also found their commitment questioned by faculty and admissions staff who asked questions such as "are you here to pass the time of day?" or "do you realize how hard you'll have to study?" Individuals challenged women's ability to manage their home while going to school by asking "do you think you could be a good student and still be a good mother?" Women typically responded to these experiences by becoming angry and more determined to be admitted and prove themselves.

University policy, then, is presently directed toward admitting an increasing number of re-entry women and helping them to pursue their education. There is, however, some slippage between university goals and institutional implementation. This discrepancy may become less of a problem as university guidelines become better known and specified.

IV. A. 4. Non-Traditional Credits

In recent years, a number of schools have offered formal college credit for life experience and other non-traditional learning opportunities. With the College Level Examination Program (CLEP), for example, students can earn up to sixty semester hours upon successfully completing a series of examinations over standard college material.

At present, CLEP and other life experience credits are accepted toward a degree from the Division of Continuing Education but not by the regular day program. This policy means that re-entry women who want to use life experience credits toward a degree must attend classes in the evening. This is often difficult for the mother with small children or for those women who are reluctant to be out at night, particularly if they have to use public transportation. Second, a woman cannot enter the day program from Continuing Education without losing whatever non-traditional credits she has received. In an extreme situation, a woman could lose the first two years of credit toward her degree if she decided to finish during the day. The loss of these non-traditional credits acts as a severe penalty which can keep students from applying the the University's regular program for admission.

On the positive side, however, about two-thirds of the women reported that they were given full credit for the traditional course work they had completed while attending other schools. This finding shows the University's attempt to honor past work even though it can be difficult for the Admissions staff to know how to evaluate curricula and course work at other colleges and universities. This problem is compounded when a woman enters with an educational history at several schools and possibly a mixture of semester and quarter hours.

IV. A. 5. Scheduling and Other Academic Reforms

Although the University does allow students to take Continuing Education courses in the evening if they encounter course conflicts in the day school program, these concessions must be cleared through the dean's office. The general expectation is that all regularly admitted students will attend day classes. This expectation posed little problem for the women in this sample since they typically preferred to go to school during the regular hours. For some, attending during the day meant not having to "be an old lady with a bunch of old ladies" in evening or special courses. For others, day attendance meant escaping what they perceived as the inferior instruction and resources available to evening students. Many women prefer to go to school during the day when their children are at school or their husbands are at work.

Approximately half of the women in the sample reported no difficulties in scheduling course work. The other half found it difficult to attend classes and still meet family responsibilities or work obligations. As one working woman put it:

> When I'd get to school from work, I was having trouble shutting off my job consciousness and taking on the new role. Other students came in straight from their books but I came in from an exhausting day.

> I had lost all my techniques. My study habits were just completely below everything, I had a lot of trouble writing

Twelve of the women remarked that their memories had deteriorated with age and believed their ability to do course work had declined:

> When I was younger and I studied, it was easy for me to bone up on subjects or hone in on subject matter and block out everything ... it's not that way now, I can't block out things. I think it's got to do with the aging process and added responsibility.

And approximately one-fourth of the women feared they would not be able to keep up with the younger students:

> I had doubts about my ability to learn. I kept thinking, only the brightest students come to this University. Could I still study and keep up?

These concerns led some women to question the wisdom of coming back to school. Pre-application counseling would have helped them know what to expect as a student. At present, the only early counseling available for women when they are in the screening process takes place in the Office of Admissions or within the individual graduate department. First contact counseling by an advocate rather than an Admissions officer should be available to help women during this decision-making period -- preferably elsewhere than the Admissions Office or the graduate department where judgments will be made.

Academic Counseling

Once she is admitted to school, a re-entry woman needs academic counseling to map out her progress. Undergraduates in our study were typically satisfied with the counseling they received when they first entered school. They did,however, consistently report a problem with counselors who sometimes pushed women into classes they could not handle by saying such things as "you don't want to take baby French" or by presenting courses "as being easier to pick up later or out of sequence: than they actually were."

When an undergraduate declared a major, however, the quality of counseling deteriorated. At this point, usually in the junior year, it became the responsibility of the individual department to advise students on their progress toward a degree. While the re-entry women reported that some departments took this duty quite seriously, others seemed only to go through the motions. This problem also appeared at the graduate level where all counseling takes place within the department.

Many re-entry women also expressed a need for career counseling during their program and as they approached graduation. Since family obligations tied them to the area, the opportunities for jobs in certain overcrowded fields appeared bleak. Women were willing to try to find jobs in other fields, but they needed help in deciding on a direction or course of action:

Or a mother's experience:

> My kids came home for lunch at noon and I had trouble getting home to take care of them. I needed courses from 10 to 11 or from 1 to 2 which limited my options and I had to leave campus regularly. So there was little time to study in the library.

Since women do prefer to attend during the day, the solution to their problem therefore lies in finding ways to manage multiple role obligations. Day care on campus, for example, is unavailable, but it would do much to help women with young children.

IV. A. 6. Special Services

6a. Orientation Programs

The Women's Program represents University commitment to women's issues in higher education. Established in 1974, the Program conducts research on issues of concern for women and offers lectures and seminars of interest to women on campus and in the community. It also offers an undergraduate curriculum in Women's Studies and serves as a clearing house for problems of women faculty and staff. The Program also publishes a quarterly newsletter and an Occasional Papers Series of research reports and bibliographies on women's issues. University funds, however, are not available to the Program on Women for formal counseling services for re-entry students.

Each fall, the Program offers an orientation reception for re-entry women. Of the sixty women who were interviewed as part or the study, approximately 70% indicated that they either had attended the gathering and found it a rewarding experience, or would have gone had it been available when they first started. Those who attended the reception reported that "just seeing other women who were successful" had given them a feeling of confidence about their own ability to succeed. Many of the respondents also commented that they would like the opportunity to get together at other times during the year. "Having someone to talk to that is your own age" does a lot toward making a woman feel more comfortable on campus.

In recognition of the difficulty of meeting home or work responsibilities while going to school, the University commissioned the Program on Women to produce a special pamphlet of advice for returning women students. (See Appendix)

6b. Counseling

<u>First Contact Counseling</u>

For the woman who has been out of school for some time, the idea of returning to the classroom can be somewhat frightening. Of the women interviewed, aproximately two-thirds reported that they felt anxious about returning to school. Twenty-three of the women were worried that they would no longer remember how to take an exam successfully, write a term paper, or command the math and verbal skills they had when they were younger:

> Several women told me that banks would be happy to have someone with my background but I don't even know where to begin or who to apply to. It would be helpful to me if the university would set up a seminar in which I could talk to women who had been through the experience. They could help with such questions as how do you negotiate for a salary? What kind of job offerings are there for someone with my particular skills and background?

In sum, the women reported that they could benefit from closer supervision during their academic programs and as they neared graduation. Many felt that career counseling should be available to help them locate jobs once they obtained their degree. The existing career counseling service available to undergraduates through the Dean of Students office apparently did not meet their needs.

IV. B. Situational Barriers and Supports

A woman accepted to the University is assumed to be well qualified and to have adequate time and sufficient funds to assure academic success. Situational factors, however, may create problems once she enters. These barriers include personal circumstances affecting re-entry women's lives apart from the institutional setting of the University.

IV. B. 1. Unfamiliarity with the System

A new student gains much of his/her information about the university system and how best to operate within it from peer interactions in dormitories and other social situations. When a student is older and lives away from campus, such information is less readily available. One re-entry woman spent her first year in a university dormitory and was privy to the information that circulated there. The others had actively to seek answers to their questions -- or resort to trial and error. These women approached faculty, administrators, and staff, along with young and old students as they attempted to make sense of their new environment.

The first challenge was to find their way around the campus and the community. Some re-entry students were fortunate because they lived in the local community and were familiar with the campus, local eating spots and book stores. Fourteen women reported taking part in a University orientation program. All but three of these were undergraduates. Another twenty-six, twenty-one of whom were graduate students, explained that they had not known about the program. Many of the re-entry women also found tours of the library and aid from the library staff helpful.

The majority of undergraduates had previous college training and, therefore, some familiarity with higher education. These women, along with the graduate students, were somewhat prepared for the academic experience they encountered.

IV. B. 2. Financial Need/Financial Aid

Because this University is located in a wealthy suburban area, university faculty and administrators often assume that re-entry women students need no financial aid to meet the University's high tuition. In fact, however, respondents reported considerable variation in incomes (see Table 6), and twenty-two women -- a little better than one-third of the total -- reported that financing their education had been a problem for them.

Fifteen women applied for and received financial aid from the University but nine explained that they had been discouraged from applying because of their husbands' incomes. Another thirteen reported that they had not applied because they thought they were not eligible. In total, forty-seven women drew on family funds for at least a part of their expenses, twenty-eight reported receiving a scholarship or assistantship, and twenty-two reported they had taken loans in order to finance their education.

Financial circumstances of re-entry women displayed great diversity. One woman, for example, found it necessary to take a student loan even though she was married to a man with an annual income of $50,000 or more. They had five children between them -- some in college -- and her own educational expenses placed too great a strain on the family.

At the other end of the scale, nine women reported annual incomes between $3,000 and $10,000. Money was a problem for them even when tuition was covered by fellowships, grants, scholarships, and loans. Graduate students' fellowships also provided only for minimal living expenses. Thus, they, along with the low-income undergradautes, often found it necessary to work at a paying job while they attended school. An undergraduate who worked as a temporary secretary gave this account.

> (I finance my schooling) with my job, a $2,000 grant from the University, a $1,500 SEOG, and $1,650 from the state scholarship and a $500 annual loan ... They have a certain budget. They determine your needs. It would be fine if I had a roommate. But I'm not going to room with a nineteen year-old. I need privacy. Living expenses, mine, are twice the amount they give me ... I have so many financial problems. I'm worried.

Financial need can preclude attendance at the University or cause students to drop out. A black mother was offered a full package of financial aid but was unable to accept because it provided inadequate housing money. As an undergraduate, she was ineligible for student housing for families -- and could not afford local housing. She went elsewhere. Various women reported that financial pressures had forced them to leave school for a full-time job. One woman with a year-old child explained that she had lived with her parents until her father became ill. Under the circumstances, she felt her child was a disturbance and a burden and moved into her own apartment. Her move necessitated placing her child in a day care center with costs amounting to one-half of her financial aid. She had no choice but to give up school and work full-time. A single parent who was a former factory

worker completed two years at a community college on a CETA grant. Upon transferring to this University, financial aid no longer covered her books and living expenses. Her boy friend with whom she was living helped where he could:

> He wanted me to finish. He knew it was important to me. He felt it was important to me. He was very encouraging. Toward the end of the year I could see the pressure was so great. It was wearing on him. During the last part of my last quarter and during the summer I was planning on going back but he was so down and he didn't want to be ... I thought he was going to get an ulcer. There was a lot of pressure on him from the job and money. He was trying to keep us together. He had this thing about 'I'll handle it' ... I finally told him I was leaving school and going to to work. That was when it ended. Even though I had financial aid from school it just got to be too much for him.

University standards for assessing an ordinary student's financial situation did not take into account the extra responsibilities of adult life.

As other studies have shown, many middle-income women were in need of some degree of financial aid because family expenses left too little to cover their own tuition:

> The thing that annoyed me the most was their attitude on any financial aid. Our income is fairly good ... not grand. You know how it is with income -- how quickly it gets spent. They couldn't understand. This wasn't solely the University's fault. When we first filed for BOEG ... they said 90% of our income was available for my education. 'I thought, 'this is a joke ...' The financial aid office said, 'no.' When you are married they consider your husband's income to be almost like a student's income ... (no) house payment or children -- just starting out. It just doesn't apply in my case. So I couldn't get that. Then, when I spoke to someone about getting the loan ... from the University, they couldn't understand that either. Finally, I got it but ... the letter that they wrote to me ... said, 'it is with great reluctance that we grant you this loan.'

College-age children, husbands who were mid-life career changers, and loss of the wife's full-time salary all were factors encouraging women to seek aid. In addition, eight women noted that their husbands had objected to diverting part of the family income to their school expenses.

IV. B. 3. Time Management and Role Strain

The re-entry student here, like her sisters elsewhere, is under pressure to meet conflicting responsibilities. Because the student role at the University is structured to be a full time job, the woman who has a family or works for pay must juggle the demands that she encounters. Fifty percent of the subjects found it difficult to manage their multiple roles. Respondents indicate, however, that they change their priorities to allow academic affairs to take precedence over domestic chores. Of the fifty-three women who saw that they had to make sacrifices, twenty-three reported housework was the first priority to suffer. Only three women were willing to sacrifice school as a first choice; fourteen noted it would be the last thing sacrificed. Their shift in priorities eases some of the strain created by trying to be the stereotypical "superwoman."

In response to a question asking how they manage a home/children/husband/job and go to school, women most often answered with some statement suggesting reorganization. They lowered their standards of housekeeping, simplified household tasks such as meal preparation, eliminated some chores, lengthened their day, or became better organized. Some stopped making beds, while others stopped cleaning bathroom sinks. Other respondents spent less time in the kitchen, relying on hamburgers or crockpots to ease cooking chores. One respondent gave the following account of changes in her home life:

> My son was in after school activities. I pick him up at 5:30 P.M. or 6:30 P.M. . . . It only leaves us that time until 8:30 P.M. and that is not enough time. I try not to worry about the housework and spend the time with him instead. I'm not a picky housekeeper so I try not to wash every week. I do some Sunday morning clean-ups.

Another woman found time for her daughter by cutting back on her own sleep.

> When my daughter wants my attention, I'll stop because if I spend an extra two hours sitting there after they've gone to bed that is not going to kill me.

A third woman's strategy involved careful organization of all chores.

> I carry a calendar book. The rigors of just carrying everything mentally can be a problem. Where, what, when am I doing this -- so I carry a big datebook. Each day it starts at seven in the morning and goes until eight-thirty at night. I carry that with me all the time in my purse. I write down if somebody is supposed to be doing something that day and what time. If I'm supposed to call somebody. I carry a notepad with me in the back of that to jot down things

> on -- like if I need to remember to get something at the store. Or if I need something. That's with me most of the time.

Another group of twelve women explained that they managed by relying on husbands and/or children to assist them. Husbands most often helped by caring for children, while children helped with household chores.

> My husband has been so good about my going back to school that I haven't asked him about housework. But he helps with the children a lot. He is a leader for the Cub Scouts. He has been doing a lot of things with my son especially. This past weekend they went camping, the two of them. That's really a big help. He'll drive them places. He'll pick up things at the store, like if I need milk. . . . He'll do a meal if I can't be home. . . . He's willing to do that. I don't think that he would be happy for a whole term doing the cooking but once in a while. I try not to ask him to do housecleaning. I do have the children. Then too, he does have his work to do. He'd probably do these things for me if I asked him. He could be one step better. He doesn't think to do it now. He doesn't even notice if the house is dirty so he is not one to say things. Plus, my daughter I think should be learning these things -- and my son. . . . My son does the downstairs vacuuming and my daughter does the upstairs vacuuming. She scrubs the sinks. . . . They take turns.

Still other respondents indicated taking the path of least resistance.

> [We] just fell into what was best suitable for our time and taste. No person was responsible for any one thing in the long run. It didn't work well to gravitate to the things that I liked to do so I tried to allocate and that didn't work too well. Kind of just left it to whoever was available.

Although only six women reported they managed with the help of paid domestic workers, when they were specifically asked about household help twenty-four respondents indicated that they had at some time during their schooling had some outside help. Eight women reported having more help than before returning to school.

While domestic chores remained primarily the wife's responsibility, twenty-one women credited their husbands with contributing more help now that wives were students. Nineteen, on the other hand, stated that husbands had never helped in the past and did not help now. In general, even the most traditional marriages tended to become more egalitarian, but few if any displayed a truly equal division of labor within the home.

In twenty-five cases children helped more when their mothers returned to school. Many women responded, however, that they did not seek help from children because they felt it took less time to do the tasks themselves.

The second most frequent "sacrifice" after housework was social life and community service. Home entertainment waited until vacation time. They saw friends and neighbors, if at all, in laundromats and at church. Evenings out, while occurring less often, frequently centered on husbands alone -- or were family affairs.

> He and I go out on Friday evening. We set that time aside for the two of us.
>
> When we do something it will be family. We will all go out skating or to a show.

Elaborate entertaining of community friends disappeared more easily than family-centered activities.

Re-entry women also sharply curtailed personal time spent on activities like physical care or shopping. Women ordered needed clothing over the telephone, made do with old wardrobes, or wore blue-jeans. They by-passed interesting speakers, movies, and plays that would bring them back to campus in the evening, or otherwise take time from family and domestic responsibilities.

In general, women spent much less time with their families, but tried to compensate with various strategies. They visited with the family as they cooked, cleaned, or drove together in the car. Mothers and children studied together; children sometimes helped Mom with her school work.

> Naturally, I did have a trick for getting her involved. . . . She loves to help me study. . . . She would ask me questions, or test me on my Spanish vocabulary. . . . The boys read my papers.

Respondents organized their youngsters' and spouses' free time so as to keep them busy, allowing mother to stay home and study. Husbands were encouraged to play tennis, handball, or ski -- with or without children. Sons and daughters were enrolled in after-school and week-end activities ranging from book groups to piano lessons. Family outings to the zoo, a movie, or museums no longer included Mom. One subject explained that on the week-ends Dad and the kids got "each other." Another woman reported:

> I look out for interesting things for my family with totally ulterior motives.

The University's re-entry women were like older students everywhere in that they learned to make every minute count and sometimes do double duty. They studied on buses, between classes, and into the night. Because reserve materials in the library presented one of the biggest problems in time management, respondents spent freely for

photocopies and bought books when possible to save extra hours on campus. They scheduled carefully, fitting classes to jobs and family needs. Some women had long commutes which further ate into their time. Still, students tried to find a week-end day for family -- and one for study.

Thirteen women worked while in school. Those who were single parents acknowledged that time with children suffered severely as a result. One mother rushed home for lunch with her youngsters, changed clothes for work, returned to campus for an afternoon class, and departed for her job in the city. She returned home in time for a late dinner with the children and their bed-time ritual. Another mother who worked nights acknowledged seeing her son only briefly as she dashed to her job. These women relied on verbal explanations to children of mothers' personal need to achieve and the economic necessity that they work, hoping to forestall resentment.

The thirty-two women who had worked until their return to school had already learned to incorporate outside demands into their lives. When these were wives or mothers, family members had also learned to be more independent and helpful. The changes did not come with academic re-entry.

> There were no family conflicts . . . because I worked before. No one is used to seeing me around all the time so they didn't expect to see me around then.

IV. B. 4 Child Care

Forty-six of the subjects were mothers. Of this number, twenty-six have children under thirteen (see Table 9). These mothers of younger children face the need for surrogate child care on at least an occasional basis. All but four of these women, however, have school-age children who spend at least a part of their day in the classroom, temporarily relieving the mothers of responsibility.

The University makes no provision for day care, and individuals have thus far been unable to arrange for a university-based private effort. A respondent gave the following account of her initial inquiries at the University.

> I did talk to someone about child care. No one seemed to be able to answer that. There wasn't any structured day care. There may have been some talk about students and posting notices. What I did was to go out on my own and put my son in a day care center.

No respondent reported a husband who regularly shared week-day child care, although these men were frequently available for week-end and evening babysitting and other child-related care. Some men who worked near their homes accepted the responsibility for emergency calls. While their efforts provided the mothers with some freedom, the women bore the brunt of the responsibility.

> When I went to graduate school I needed to find someone to help take care of my son during the day. The rates for day care were so high. My husband was very helpful in terms of babysitting but he had a job to go to. It is hard for a man to take on the job of babysitter for any great deal of time because it is out of character of what he is supposed to do. It's interesting, too, that when a man takes care of children, his own children, it is called babysitting. It's not called babysitting when a woman takes care of her children.

As with housework, then, child care remained primarily the woman's responsibility although husbands did begin to make unaccustomed accomodations.

In some cases, child care presented an insuperable problem. A drop-out gave the following account:

> As far as the children, I feel I would like to be with them more. My husband used to take them on week-ends and then I became jealous. I wanted to take them back. . . . It didn't work out for me to come back with an infant. The baby didn't sleep at night and I had trouble with school. I was too tired to read the material. The first two years with two children everything was an ordeal. With three it was chaos. You feel like you should be here, not somewhere else. . . . I feel as if I should have waited until they were older. They'll need me then but not as much as they do now. . . . I know with . . . the baby if you are away from home too much he cries. I've tried to stay away from sitters. I only study during his two-hour nap and from 9:30 P.M. on. This quarter I had a babysitting pool and I used up all the time I had letting him go to play with friends. For example, I take him to someone's house to study for a mid-term. He's just two and dependent and I can't leave him.

Low income women found day care a strain on their already tight finances. Those who are single parents as well have even less flexibility than women who can turn to husbands for a part of the child care.

> There's no one to keep the kids when I have to go out or I have to study. . . . Then there's been all this snow, so that cut my mobility even more. I pay a sitter $200 a month, but I can't really afford it. If the University could set up a babysitting service or a nursery school that would help me. I'm not the only one here who has a problem with child care. One of the big problems for me is transportation. It would be easier for me to bring her here

with me since I don't have a car. If she goes half day to a sitter I have problems getting her there and back. By the time I do, on a half-day basis, there is very little time to do anything else.

One woman relied on her mother for daily help with the children. A sister temporarily moved in with a divorced student. Older siblings were mentioned as sitters by a few respondents. Occasionally a neighbor offered to keep a student's children, as when the local school had a holiday or a teacher's institute or when school was called off because of bad weather, but the University remained in session. When a mother had a class and her child had no where else to go and was too young to stay alone, re-entry women frequently brought them to campus. These children were given a book or a game and told to wait in a lounge or hall way. One woman brought her young baby into the class room.

Sick children present another unexpected difficulty. When asked who cares for them under these circumstances, nine respondents reported that they stayed home. Thirteen women said that a family member cared for the sick child. Only once, however, was a father mentioned as regularly undertaking this responsibility. In one other case, a subject and her older daughter took turns caring for a sick child--each missing their least important classes. Eighteen women reported leaving the child alone, and of these, fourteen were graduate students is accounted for by the fact that nearly all of them (13) had children who were twelve years old or younger. We can assume that older children are capable of caring for themselves unless they are seriously ill, so this age group did not require supervision. Of the remaining twelve families with younger children, two had housekeepers who cared for the children. Further, several of the mothers who reported leaving sick children to care for themselves lived either in the suburb where the University is located or in an adjacent suburb. These mothers were able to leave their children for short periods of time, running to the campus for a class and returning home within an hour or two.

> I haven't had to stay home (when my son was sick). He would stay home by himself during the period of time I was at school. I happened to be ten minutes door to door, if I had to run home.

Women perceived even younger children as able to amuse themselves when left alone so briefly, with no serious consequences for the child.

Several subjects mentioned that they had attended institutions with day-care facilities until their children reached school age. At this point they transferred to the University. After-school arrangements remained a problem, however, for these women as well as others.

> [I have] babysitters after school. Until about a month ago they had been coming home for lunch every day. Now they want to eat at school more and more. . . . I'd like to find one person to take care of the kids after school. I would give the sitters keys. The kids have keys. We've lost so many keys. But we still have horrible stories about somebody

> being locked out, climbing through a window. It's been tough, calling neighbors, getting names of babysitters, trying them out, finding a couple of duds. I've got a couple of duds right now, and I want to get rid of them. They don't have to do anything but be here and know where my kids are. It seems simple to me, but for some reason it's beyond a couple of them. I've scheduled my classes all along so they wouldn't conflict with noon time or work, as best as you can. You can't do it all the time.

In the absence of inexpensive day care on campus, then, mothers with young children continue to face real difficulties. Paid help, family help, and emergency aid from friends and neighbors could not be counted on to cover all emergency situations.

IV. B. 5 Rusty Skills and Inadequate Preparation

Re-entry women at this University compete with high achieving young students who also benefit from moving directly through the educational process. Unlike these younger students, adult women returning after an extended absence must cope with rusty skills. Like some of their younger classmates, they may also suffer from inadequate preparation.

One subject reported that she was unaware of lost skills until warned by an interviewer.

> I saw Dean --- in Humanities. I was to have my program evaluated. He was so negative that I went away from there thinking, 'What have I gotten into?' He said I should never take calculus; I would never be able to do it. A complete negative attitude. ... I wanted to go into something with math, because I had always liked it, but I had been away from it for eighteen years. ... I thought I was going to get back into it with no preparation. And I did. ... It wasn't until ... I was in ... that I realized ... I should have prepared better for calculus. ... I did take the pre-calculus course, the algebra and trigonometry course, but that was still hard for me because I hadn't boned up on it at all. It would be helpful if someone said, before I went into the course, 'Look, it would be helpful if you prepared for these. ... Go to a high school or an adult education course.' [That] might have helped. Just something to get back into it. ... I should have been able to get back into math, but at my own pace.

Another woman discovered her weak background upon entering the classroom.

> When I came here I was interested in the sciences . . . like biology. I was thinking over majors. I

> knew I would need math for all these here in the sciences. There was a low math class you couldn't get in unless you could prove you were really 'forget it' in math. I walked in and couldn't answer a single question. I thought, 'This is ridiculous.' I knew I needed remedial math. Right about then things were going poorly for me, when I really began to doubt that this university was right for me. I eventually decided to pull out and work.

Both instances point to the need for review classes at the University if women are to enter the traditionally male-dominated fields requiring math and science skills.

Respondents tried to overcome inadequacies in academic skills in a variety of ways. Because they sought to excel, they put in long hours of study wrestling with assignments hoping to master the material. Thirty-three women perceived that they worked constantly: Some said "every possible minute" -- others merely said "a lot."

> I spend a whole lot of time. I couldn't begin to count the hours. Every day. Taking French and I have to go over and over and over that. Economics. There were certain subjects that to get them concrete, it had to be a methodical process. . . . The material was always there. I was never finished. . . . Any free time at all was spent with the books.

Some difficulties required more than study. The University offered writing help in a drop-in setting conducted by trained student aids, but no older woman reported availing herself of this service -- perhaps from embarrassment. They might also have taken composition courses in the regular curriculum, but these were highly popular, quickly filled, and open only to entering freshmen. Many women turned to their husbands or other students for help with academic skills. Two women received help from tutors, while some professors offered help to struggling students.

> They did have groups like English and writing that you could brush up on. I know they had a writing workshop. I noticed it on the board. My skills weren't sharp enough, as I came to see. . . . In a journalism basic writing course I had a woman teacher. In a conference she sat down and said this is what you have to do to put out a report. Something pretty basic. What I was doing was skipping steps that I wasn't even aware of. I would then sit down and write and put it out.

A few subjects reported great difficulty with language requirements. This proved especially true when they followed the advice of academic counselors and enrolled in intensive summer courses covering a year's work in one quarter.

The University provides minority students with a summer orientation program to help with writing and mathematics and to familiarize them with college course work and examinations. No such program exists

for older students -- unless they happen to be black and entering freshmen. One such student gave the following account:

> There was a minority program ... which I participated in. It was for incoming freshmen, for minorities. ... It was extremely helpful. I learned exactly what was going on. Everybody should have it, especially women. ... You get about three courses in this program. ... They really wanted them to get a head start because they were from ghetto high schools. Their peers were going to be from prep schools. Chemistry, history, English, math, and others were given. In three weeks you had a little exam and maybe a two or three page paper to do. It was a great introduction. The professors were some of the best on campus. You could talk to them. People came in every evening and talked about things. ... We could do a program with these kids, if they wouldn't give us our own, but they should give us the evenings to discuss ... how to interact with the kids. How not to feel so funny sitting at a lunch room table with kids.

Although designed for high-risk students of a conventional age, this program suggests a parallel model for re-entry students similarly in need of remedial work.

IV. B. 6 Support of Significant Others

IV. B. 6. a. Husbands

The re-entry students in this study overwhelmingly reported that their husbands had supported their desire to return to school (Table 10). Only seven of the forty-seven married women said they returned despite husbands' negative attitudes. Once in school, however, subjects responded to the question of "How does your husband feel now that you're in school?" with a variety of answers.

Seventeen women explained that there had been no change in their spouses' attitudes. The other forty-three described their husbands' new attitudes as ambivalent, proud, or negative.

> I don't think my husband was very happy about my coming back to school. First, I think it meant he would have me around less and I would be doing less work for him. He'd like me to entertain and make his life more pleasant. He was afraid I wouldn't have time to do that. I think he was proud that I went back and did well, but at the same time he didn't like my commitment to anything other than himself.
>
> He always had a positive attitude. It's just that he didn't realize what I was getting into in going back. He's used to it now, ... [but] the first year that I came back, he found out that I couldn't just pick up

> and run to a show. He's a movie freak and loves to see all the new movies -- or take off for the weekend with the family. He was a little disappointed. He had to learn how to entertain himself . . . to depend on his own resources. . . . He doesn't really like to be alone. He prefers to . . . [be] with me. I just don't have time for those kinds of things. I wish I did.

Thirty-one women described at least some positive attitudes on the part of their husbands. They reported their husbands to be proud, more respectful, or less demanding.

> He is very supportive. . . . He is far more respectful of me than he was before. . . . My reasons for doing or not doing something are more listened to.

Twenty-six women described some negative attitudes. Husbands were viewed as jealous, resentful, or competitive.

> Once in a while I find myself being asked to lunch or staying after class and talking to someone. Sometimes it's a woman, sometimes a man. That kind of thing at first really bothered him . . . shook him up. . . . It is not easy for him . . . but I need these other people; I need contacts.

While graduate and undergraduate students alike noted jealousy and resentment, only graduate students perceived competitiveness. These women were frequently seeking degrees that would surpass those of their husbands, while undergraduate respondents sought bachelor's degrees which would at most allow them to be as well educated as their degree-holding spouses.

> My husband doesn't have a Bachelor's degree so there was all this business about, 'Is it Dr. and Mr. so and so?' Also, if you are a black woman you are supposed to put your husband before you. A woman with a degree that is higher than her husband is seen as castrating him. . . . I've always felt he was intimidated by my professional degree. . . . It has created a lot of friction between us. . . . Every time I got a degree he seemed happy and proud and yet in some way it pained him. It got to the point where his behavior began to say, if I can't be a man in the occupational sphere I'll be a man in other ways. I can hit you, I'm a man. I can stay out late, I'm a man. These things show I'm a man in every sense.

The expectation of an advanced degree equal to or greater than that of a husband may carry with it an increase in power for the wife -- an increase which may be directly related to her greater earning potential. A wife's increased power may cause spouses to view their relationship as more equal than in the past. Because competition is more likely to occur between "equals" than those with large power differentials,

higher levels of academic achievement for women may increase competitiveness between marital partners.

Those women (6) who were married for the second time less frequently reported husbands with unsupportive behavior or negative attitudes. This finding suggests that the wife's expectations for the role the spouse would play had been defined at the outset of the new marriage. Women in a first marriage most often married at a relatively young age and had frequently changed their attitudes about the roles they and their husbands should play in the marriage. Husbands who resisted changes in the marriage displayed lack of support or negative attitudes.

Earlier studies suggested that a husband's acceptance and encouragement enabled re-entry women to make an easy adjustment to their dual roles. The University data supports this finding.

> I have an enormously understanding husband. ... I probably couldn't go to school if I didn't have a husband like that. I can get pretty uptight around finals and he's very easy going. He's very undemanding and not at all chauvinistic. ... [He] will throw in a load [of laundry], do the dishes . . . and clean up the kitchen. The last couple of nights I haven't come home for dinner because I was studying for finals. He fixed hamburgers for the kids. ... He'll ask 'When is your final week?' and he'll try to rearrange his schedule so he's home a lot during that week. He'll even try to be home so as to make it a light week during the day.

A lack of support from a husband did seem to contribute to marital tension, but these tensions may have been present before the wife re-entered school. When asked if school had in any way affected her marriage, one woman responded that it was a question of "the chicken and the egg." She was unable to tell which was the cause and which the effect.

> In my fantasy everyone else's husband is much more supportive. ... Once he came in from out of town at 4 o'clock. My class meets from 3 to 6. The roast was sitting there ready to go into the oven (I'd forgotten to put it in). It was still sitting there when I got home at 6:30 P.M. He wanted to know <u>when</u> we were going to eat. ... [I thought] don't complain that there is no dinner when you have been home for two and a half hours [and didn't put it in the oven].

Wives perceived a variety of reasons why their husbands were happy about their return to school. They were said to appreciate the woman's new independence and to find her more interesting because her interests had broadened through education. One wife felt her husband liked the status of her imminent Ph.D. and the culture she brought to their home. A second income was thought to be a positive factor for other men. An older husband was quoted as seeing her new earning power

as a form of life insurance. Some husbands were said to see school as filling their wives' time as children grew older or the husband's work took them away from home more frequently.

IV. B. 6. b. Children

Re-entry women almost always reported their children to be supportive (Table 11). They were most often perceived as benefitting from their mother's re-entry.

> They start to respect you as an individual, and they become more concerned. . . . They'll say, 'Oh, mummy, you're so tired, take it easy.' My son, who is seven years old, will bring me a cup of tea sometimes in the morning, and I don't think that concern would have happened if mommy would have been around the house catering to her children all day long.

In a few cases mothers spoke of unhappy or difficult offspring and blamed their re-entry as causing the problem.

> My middle son felt very much neglected. . . . He felt resentful. He said things just weren't the same any more. He was very unhappy about it. . . . If there had been time to cope, maybe there would have been compensation, but not having time, it just had to be. . . . He just felt that things that had been special just weren't any more. The quality, that's what it is.

In most instances when children became disgruntled, mothers were able to explain away the difficulty.

> The younger one says, 'Mom, you are always gone.' It makes me feel rotten. I just tell him this is the way it has to be. 'You know how much school means to me. You know it means something for our future. You know I have to work or we don't eat. I care a lot about you. I count on you to take care of yourself.'

Respondents acknowledged efforts to ward off resentment from children. They set aside time for each child individually to attend to emotional and physical needs. One mother made a point of asking about the day's activities at bed-time. Another woman made clothes shopping a special event.

> I found it was easiest to take one of my children shopping about 4 o'clock, leaving the other one home with my husband to fix dinner and clean up. Then I would eat out with the other one while I shopped, and it made it not so much of a chore because the child got special attention because we went out to dinner and he got clothes for himself and it was kind of a break for me too.

Other subjects made pockets of time available to their children.

> What I do try to do is to set up some time with them. Fifteen minutes or so and if they want me earlier I'll say, 'I have to study during this period; at eight o'clock I'm going to come out and we'll sit down, plan time together and we'll just talk or whatever you want to do.'

When time was available, mothers tried to maintain a feeling of fun in the household. They continued to make taffy apples or a child's favorite muffins — but did so when it was convenient for them. In addition, respondents explained that they did "nice little things" for the family.

> I stick a note in her lunch with just a funny face. Once in a while I'll stop -- she likes to read -- [and] buy her a pocket book or a comic book. Little things that don't cost much money and I'll stick them under her pillow -- a little glass animal I'll buy for seventy-five cents and she seems to like it.

There were no reports of a mother's achievements or grades creating competitive feelings in school-age children. Rather than fostering competition, student status provided a bond to older children. Nonetheless, one subject shared her worry that her own achievements could cause difficulties.

> I tried to keep my school separate from her. I tried not to tell her about my grades, but when I got honors they became apparent. . . . I tried by just never discussing school at home.

IV. B. 6. c. Friends

Adult women at the University report that they have maintained their old friendships, although twenty-eight subjects explained that they see them less frequently. A majority say that these friends are generally positive about the respondent's return to school. There were, however, many students who could point to at least one friend or neighbor who expressed disapproval or envy, felt her own self-esteem threatened, or saw that school interfered with the friendship. Some friends simply failed to understand why the respondent would want to subject herself to the problems of being a student.

> One friend who lives pretty close to me and likes to spend time with me, when I got back to school, I no longer had time to spend and she kind of resented it. 'Why go back to school . . .; why do you want to waste your time or have a nervous breakdown?' she would ask.

Re-entry women revealed several strategies for maintained friendships with those they knew before their return to school. They met for lunch, spoke on the phone, saw each other socially on week-end evenings and at church, or along with other obligatory activities.

When asked if they were close to anyone at the University, eleven subjects spoke of other re-entry women, while fourteen subjects had never met another older student. Thirty-five respondents reported that knowing another re-entry woman had made returning to school easier for them.

IV. B. 7. Gaining and Maintaining Husband Support

Respondents were asked, "Assuming that the student role takes time away from your husband, what do you do to keep him happy?" Eighteen women did not perceive reduced time together as a problem; six others explained that it was a problem, but not one they worried about. The remaining women revealed an array of strategies, each mentioning up to three. The majority of answers described how wives attempted to show their husbands that they were still important to them. Women made time to be alone with spouses, sometimes over morning coffee, during dinner preparation, or on a special night out.

> We'll have lunch together sometimes. He works (nearby). . . . A nice time for us. Once in a while he'll go to work a little later and we'll sit on the sun porch and have coffee and talk -- phone conversations even. We touch base at least once a day . . . and catch up with what's happening to each other.

They emphasized the importance of "really" listening.

> ... like on Sundays, when he's home, I do try to put down everything that I'm doing and be with him. If he's in the yard and he wants me just to sit there and listen to him while he's digging holes, I'll be happy to do that.
>
> I keep trying to remember that he has a career, too, and he has ups and downs, and I have to remember to not just think about all my turmoil but to sit down and listen to him.

One subject reported she always "put her books down" when her husband showed an interest in sex. Other wives provided small services, such as shopping for a husband's liquor, giving back rubs, or drawing morning baths.

> He's a very fussy man so I make a great effort to see that he doesn't run out of shorts and cause scenes. I avoid that pressure on myself. I have things like that pretty well organized. I make sure the laundry is done so he has socks. I'll go to the liquor store and buy a bottle of red wine that he likes. I suppose I pacify him somewhat.

Seven women tried to integrate their spouses in their school life to ease the shock of a changed relationship. One, for example, met her husband for campus strolls reminiscent of those they had taken on the same campus as newly-weds. Another gave the following account:

> J. really enjoyed reading my papers. He would go through them and say, 'Boy, this sentence really doesn't make any sense at all. Rewrite it.' . . . That was tremendously helpful for when you haven't written in years, you forget. . . . He said, 'Look, what do you really want to say?' And I would sit there and tell him, and he would say, 'So why don't you say that instead?'

Another group of women, on the other hand, tried to keep their husband's world as it had always been by minimizing the impact of their lessened availability. Eight wives continued their business entertaining but directed their spouses into independent activities like jogging, tennis, and cross-country skiing.

> We got skis for my husband and — my boys have both had occasions in the last weeks and they have each gotten skis. I don't go with them. They all go out together and they have something that they can do.

Three women who were the most highly accommodating explained that their return to school had in no way changed their husbands' lives.

University re-entry women usually appear to have open lines of communication with their husbands. By discussing what changes might occur in the home, they encouraged their husbands to understand and adjust to the new situation.

> We discussed the problems that might come up. I think I was very realistic. I knew that time was going to be very short because I've had friends who have done it, too. I said, 'It is going to make a big difference in our life style.' He said, 'Okay, it is for a short time. . . . I'd rather have you go full time for two years than stretch it out over three or four or five years.'

While discussions of problem areas may bring them out into the open, these difficulties are not always solved by talking.

> He is not so pleased that he doesn't have all of me anymore. That has led to trying to work it out. We had a big discussion about it last night. There really wasn't much said, after a while. There was silence because we came to no conclusion. We were both silent. Usually we talk things out. I don't see how it can change, now while I'm in school. He thinks I'm giving him nothing. He's bolstering me but I'm not bolstering him enough. ... I don't think he's too happy.

And some women appeared to resort to tears rather than communication as a way of gaining their husbands' support.

> If I really show him how upset I am, it usually ends up that it reaches a peak ... and I cry. ... He seems to need that crisis.

A final strategy for maintaining support from husbands involved compromise. Some women limit their ambitions when they perceive that it would place too great a strain on family relationships.

> I would like to go to graduate school. If I were really only thinking about myself ... I would like law school ... but it would take too much time away from the family.

Almost all subjects, regardless of income, planned to work when they completed their studies -- or were already out of school and working. Many husbands were said to view the wife's educational objectives as an investment in their future. Five women stated that they would consider a commuter marriage, if necessary to the pursuit of their own career, but most expected to seek work near their husbands.

Most women limit their sights to the home geographical area in their education as in their later work careers. They organize personal aspirations around family responsibilities.

IV. B. 8. Commuting

Thirty-seven women gave geographical location as a reason for choosing this University. Given the scarcity of time they faced it is not surprising that these students selected a university with an eye to the commute. Distance, however, is relative, and for some, travel time was lengthy even though the campus was closer than comparable institutions. Women left their homes in the early morning hours in order to reach class on time.

> This term one of the classes ... is at 8 A.M., which means I ... leave home at 6:45 . . . before the children are even up . . . These snowy days I ... lose about a half hour to driving. ... This winter has been very difficult for me weatherwise. ... Driving has been difficult.

Fewer hours could be spent on campus before family responsibilities turned them homeward once more.

> [The University] is geared for someone on campus. If I could have lived closer and just driven to the library. My classes demanded that I spend a lot of time at the library. My time was very limited. I was going full time. ... The thing that was the hardest for me was that I had to rush right home after school and fix dinner for my children and I had to be home by five. I had to make sure that my classes ended by 3:30 P.M. so that I could get there. ... The nursery school closed at 5:30 P.M. If you

> were later than fifteen minutes, they charged you so much more. . . . I think driving took a lot out of me. . . . Another thing that really drained me, I'd have to get this material in the library. You'd have to get so much material, read it, and do reports. So I would go to the library and would stick nickels in the Xerox. I would Xerox as much as I could and take it home and do it. If I had an hour in the library I would try to cram three hours in. I would realize that I really hadn't learned anything because I had tried so hard to cram so much in that I didn't get any in. . . . I was trying to concentrate on speed and I wasn't concentrating enough.

Despite these difficulties, women seemed to thrive on their work. They managed to meet their obligations without breaking down -- either in transportation or in health.

IV. B. 9. Health and Fatigue

Re-entry women were remarkably free of illness, and also escaped the need to care for sick husbands or parents. Three subjects explained that their children had not been sick, but this luck was unusual, even though a sick child did not necessarily present a problem for the returning student. (See Section IV.B.4.) Fatigue and mental strain were common complaints, however, especially among those respondents who had multiple role obligations.

> The job I have had for the last two and a half years is from nine at night, although it varies a great deal. I get off anywhere from two o'clock to five or six o'clock in the morning, which means Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday night I average about three hours of sleep a night. . . . It's . . . extremely draining and I wouldn't advise it. . . . So many times when I'm reading difficult material I just fall asleep. You can't concentrate. It's dreadful.

IV. B. 10. Status Inconsistency

A few women reported that professors equated age with knowledge and expected more of these students than of their younger classmates. Such high expectations conflicted with the re-entry student's anxieties about poor preparation and rusty study skills. Women who had shown that they were competent on the job, as a housewife/mother, or in their other roles appeared to have high expectations of themselves as well, and explained that they felt ashamed of a poor performance.

Relationships with faculty also presented re-entry women with a dilemma. Should they relate as age peers and status equals or as subordinates? Faculty members most often maintained a friendly distance indicating an asymmetrical relationship, yet re-entry women described occasions when they were treated with a lack of deference. Faculty returned graded papers without comments, questioned their

presence as students or at student functions, and failed to keep their appointments. One respondent explained how she coped with such a situation.

> I leave notes, like, 'I waited for you until such and such. You didn't show so apparently you got tied up or forgot our appointment.' Their response has been apologetic ... so we can usually go on from there.

Re-entry women also found it necessary to become adept at changing status and roles when they step on and off the campus. Some women did so more easily than others.

> It's hard to switch gears from a student to a mother. Phone calls for dentist appointments, groceries, studying. In the back of your mind, you think about the paper, [the] exam.

In relationships with faculty and family members and in self-concept, then, older women students consistently faced strains over identity and status.

IV. B. 11. Legitimation

Re-entry women think administrators and faculty view these students as dilettantes. Nine subjects reported that during the admission procedure the department representative or admissions interviewer questioned their seriousness as a student. Such women felt the need to prove that they were serious about their work as students. Full-time status signalled the University that the re-entry woman was a committed student. Some responded by attending full-time regardless of other responsibilities. Thirty-five women students attended full-time from the start; six began as part-time students but attended full-time at the time of their interview. Only twelve students had always attended the University part-time.

Describing a career goal served as a second legitimating strategy. Only twelve subjects said that when they entered the University they were unsure what they planned to do with their degrees. Thirty-five women stated that there had been no change in their goals while they were in school, and twenty-two explained that they had gained new directions during their course of study.

Other women described the prospect of additional income as helping to legitimate returning to school. While only one woman pointed to grades as a legitimating factor, to all but five women grades were extremely important. We can assume that good grades indicated to the woman herself that she deserved to be a student.

IV. B. 12. Life Cycle

Re-entry women at this University range in age from twenty-five to sixty-three. Clearly, there is no one chronological age solely

compatible with a desire to continue an interrupted education. Life crisis points do, however, appear to encourage a return to school. Divorce or widowhood, for example, may prompt a woman to seek further education because of emotional or financial needs. Even the fear of these changes in the marital life-cycle or the prospect of a husband's retirement may bring about a return. Nine explained either that their studies provided them with an intense involvement offsetting the loss of a husband or that it prepared them for financial independence in an occupation or profession.

> I . . . gave piano lessons . . . and I was employed in one of the . . . synagogues here to be their music director. . . . In 1973 my husband, unexpectedly, had a heart attack and died. At that point I understood that I had to think the rest of my life over. I couldn't see myself going back to teaching, which is very strenuous and only possible if you know that in the evening you have a companion and have another sort of life. . . . Also, I was looking for some good content or a challenge; to be absorbed in something. . . . My husband had always said, why don't I study music. . . . Many of my good friends encouraged me to try this. . . . One of my daughters had gone to this University and she was very, very happy there. She encouraged me to apply.

The maternal life-cycle also influenced the timing of a woman's re-entry. Twelve women explicitly indicated that it had been a factor in their decision to return. Many more, however, appeared to have waited until children were in school or old enough to be relatively independent (junior high school or high school) before they came back to college.

And it is clear that many social pressures contribute to the decision to delay education. Such pressures combine with a personal sense of responsibility to keep women out of school — or make them feel guilty when they return.

IV. C. Dispositional Barriers

IV. C. 1. Guilt and Anxiety

Guilt was a common theme among respondents, most often mentioned in conjunction with children. Like women in other studies, subjects at the University reported guilt because they had to leave a sick child or because homework took time from youngsters.

> If there's any reason I might consider dropping school, it's because of the children. The twins say, 'All the other mommies stay home, why don't you?' They haven't really complained, but I know I'm not as relaxed with them as I could be if I were not in school. . . . I do try to work at home all the time to make sure I'm there when they're home,

> but when they come into my study, they're welcome but they have to be perfectly quiet. . . . I sometimes wonder if I'm curbing their spontaneity. I'm not like other mothers, I don't play games with them, I'm not reading or doing projects as much as the others. I think they feel love, but I don't think they get nearly the time and some of the fringe benefits that other mothers give. I'm always saying, 'Shhh, be quiet.' . . . I feel guilty [about behaving] like this all the time.

Sixteen women expressed guilt about spending family money for their education. Some of them used their savings to avoid asking husbands to incur this expense. They worked as they went through school and took loans with the expectation of paying them back after graduation.

Women were not, however, overly concerned that they were placing too much of "their" responsibility on husbands and children. Some seemed to feel it was appropriate that family members help with housework and other tasks. Other women — those who fully believed in the traditional division of labor within the family — avoided asking husbands for help. Still others -- because they felt guilty at fulfilling themselves at the expense of the family -- took on more of the domestic tasks than was necessary or even undertaken in the past.

> Then my baby was born and I felt the need to do well as a student and be a superb mother to show everyone that it could be done. I really took on the superwoman complex. . . . I had never been a committed housekeeper before, but now I felt as if I had to keep my house immaculate in order to show that I could do everything.

Less often, other family members tried to create guilt in re-entry women. Only four women mentioned parents or in-laws who criticized them for giving too little time and attention to their families.

> My mother thought it really was terrible. She actually said 'You should stay home and bake cookies.' I said, 'For whom?' She said, 'You should just stay home. Take care of your husband and your child.' She wouldn't talk about it and was furious.

Guilt over family responsibilities appears, then, to be most often self-induced.

Respondents believed the return to school created changes within them, and as a result, within the family. As subjects gained in self-esteem, confidence, and assertiveness, their husbands sometimes felt threatened or confused. Their authority was undermined as wives turned to them less frequently for advice and direction or as they began to plan careers. Some households experienced tensions.

> The biggest thing is that going to school is a threat to my husband. My husband and I have always had problems over my gaining power. . . . He's very successful. . . . I think his fears are not very realistic, . . . [but] the very fact that I want to do anything beyond being his wife was threatening. For example, after the first quarter I no longer asked him to look at my papers. This somewhat undermined his authority. . . . I have a good prospect for a job . . . but you can't have a job or go to school and not have them make demands. . . . [Have I changed?] Yes. . . . You are willing to take more . . . risks than before. I had been moving in that direction for some time but my success at school let me go ahead.

Academic concerns are a source of anxiety for the majority of older students. Allowing for multiple responses, there were fifty-one such reports; only twenty-three women expressing no such worries (see Table 12). Subjects revealed that they feared poor memories, skills that were no longer sharp, and examinations or paper writing.

> I've enjoyed every class I've ever taken, but papers -- oh, Lordy -- I didn't know how -- if -- I'd ever learn to write a paper. My freshman year I took two writing courses. They were the single most helpful courses here. . . . My math requirement was my most dramatic experience. I had to take it. . . . Having to deal with algebra, geometry, and trigonometry after so many years and with students who had had it recently, . . . I felt anxious, frustrated, and dumb. . . . I had a headache everyday after class.
>
> I hadn't taken tests for a long time. . . . It's getting better but it's still hard for me to take tests. I get very nervous.
>
> I had lost all my techniques. My study habits were just completely below everything. I had a lot of trouble writing. One of [the teachers] said that if I didn't improve my writing he was going to flunk me. . . . the concentration, the reading, the writing, it was a tremendous job. All the mental blocks against it. . . . I had a lot of anxiety.

This woman explained her strategy for overcoming problems relating to concentration.

> I tried using the tape recorder, to read my books out loud. I could listen to it and absorb it -- because I had so much trouble reading. It helped, but it was sixty times slower than regular reading. But just the sound of my own voice gave me confidence.

Other women were concerned that they might not do as well as younger students or that they had insufficient knowledge of what was expected of them. A student recalled a first quarter experience with a final paper.

> I didn't understand when the professor said the day the final paper was due. . . . He meant the last day of class. I had no experience with finals, midterms, or how to study or take exams. I interviewed Jesse Jackson for the required interview. . . . I went to him the day the final was due. I went to a PUSH meeting and asked Jackson if I could interview him. I had gone once before. So I went up to him and said I couldn't get through to you, please just five minutes. And I got twenty minutes. I rushed home and got a typewriter -- two typewriters -- I felt they kept breaking because I was so nervous. I walked to the professor's house in a blizzard. I was always getting things in just under the deadline. I didn't understand planning. I had to ask students what it took to do a ten-page paper, how much library time it took. I didn't know how to do papers. First quarter was a total learning experience.

Unlike women in other studies, only three of these re-entry students feared talking in class because they might betray a lack of knowledge. Some, however, feared that they might talk too much in the classroom and tried to avoid alienating their young classmates with this tendency. Some nine women hesitated to speak in the class at all because they felt resentment from other students. Another fourteen women, however, considered an oral presentation the most trying experience that they had undergone at the University.

Social isolation appears to be a greater problem for adult students, who are only a fraction of a percent of the University day school student body. As noted earlier, fourteen women had not met another re-entry student other than the interviewer. Even for those who had discovered one another, limited time and scheduling conflicts prevented frequent contact. While friendships with younger students were enjoyable, some women reported a need to share the problems of their return to school with another re-entry woman. A subject described her feelings of marginality and loneliness.

> When I saw . . . [a counselor] he said what I really needed to do was to talk to other women like me at other colleges because there weren't very many at [this University]. He said he knew of a group at H. It's sort of like a support group. I told him my problem even now is I really don't fit in with the students. I don't fit in anymore as a PTA mother. I don't know many people in the neighborhood (having only recently moved). I'm sort of an oddball. I feel like an oddball. But that's all right because I want my education enough so that it's all right. I think if I wanted a lot

> of other women around I could've gone to M. It was more important to get the college education than to have a support group. I don't think I thought about that until after I realized that I don't have friends like those living on campus have. ... I know some people who have been in my class ... eighteen, nineteen, twenty-year-old females ... but then the next quarter when they are not in your classes you don't see them. I don't see any women my age.

Another woman discussed her own situation.

> They [my old friends] fill their lives with different things than I do. I really haven't found any friends at school that replace them at all. There are very few of us adult women on campus. That would be my inclination for a friend. ... There really is a big gulf between a married woman and the young single student.

Over the past year and a half, the women's program at the University has responded to the need to introduce re-entry women to one another by sponsoring social gatherings for the University's older undergraduate students. Six respondents reported attending and found them enjoyable. Sixteen explained that they would have liked to have attended but time conflicts or not knowing about the event had kept them away. (In some cases the topic was irrelevant because the subject had not been a student during the past year and a half.) Another sixteen who were graduate students indicated that they would also have liked to have attended, had they been invited.

This study supports the findings of other studies suggesting that many mature students are concerned that they will be unable to relate to young students and will feel like outsiders. Our findings indicate, however, that this feeling is temporary and eases in time. Most women come to find that young classmates are warm and friendly, willing to be friends, and happy to exchange invitations and share activities both on and off the campus.

Summary

The re-entry woman at this University is similar to re-entry women everywhere who seek to add new dimensions to their lives. She is perhaps more highly motivated, academically able, and "streetwise" because these are the qualities that University gate-keepers have sought. University policy has tended to keep this a small group and so these women have had a different experience from older students on other campuses where they form a larger proportion of the student body. Here, they must do without the support groups that ease integration into campus life and offer encouragement and counsel to overcome the difficulties created by taking on a second demanding role. Nonetheless, these women are by and large successful in their pursuits and expect to use their degrees to seek satisfying paid work outside the home.

While the overall tenor of these findings has stressed barriers and difficulties, the interesting finding is that a small, hardy band can persevere and succeed in obtaining an education within an elite system of education relatively *indifferent to their needs* -- even to their presence. This small group suggests, in its vanguard activities, some of the obstacles -- and strategies to surmount them -- that re-entry women at elite universities may have to consider in the future should larger and larger numbers of these women become viable candidates for admission. More generally, their experience suggests both limitations and potential areas for change in the organizational structure of the institution they attend. The full extent of flexibility in meeting changing needs and changing populations at the elite universities has yet to be tested. These women provide a test which may become as important and demanding as that presented by the student demands of the '60s and the demands of women and minorities in the '60s and '70s. If the most rock-ribbed of ivory tower edifices have met those challenges and modified time-honored patterns to some extent in so doing, surely these elite institutions can continue their metamorphosis and accommodate the demands of these intellectually committed and academically ambitious re-entry women.

Policy Recommendations

In attempting to comply with Title IX of the Educational Amendments of 1972, most universities have undertaken new policies directed at ending discrimination on the basis of sex in admission, treatment of students, or employment. There has been some uncertainty, however, about the remaining barriers facing particularly those who re-enter school at a later point in the life cycle. Further, it is often unclear how to remove obstacles or implement policies that the women themselves would approve. Policy makers must also decide if the returning woman at an elite university is better off in a special program or "mainstreamed" into the university as just another student.

While this report can only speak for women at one prestigious university, the returning women in this study make it clear that they do not want to be given special favors or to be singled out as a weaker or less able group of students. Neither are they interested in special programs providing quick empty credits or leading to a watered-down degree. Overall, they ask that the university (1) provide the atmosphere and support that makes it possible to learn; (2) remove all age and sex barriers to entry and successful student performance; (3) give them help in securing those resources such as financial aid, child care, and remedial services that make it possible for them to come back to school and become successful students. The following are areas in which the university can provide additional assistance and support:

1. Community Outreach

Traditionally, the University has relied on alumni and the University's reputation for academic excellence to recruit new students. Consistent with this general policy, there has been little attempt in the past to recruit older women out of the community. As

respondents in this study have indicated, many women in the environs believe that their age and community background make them unacceptable to the University as potential students. Thus women are often reluctant to apply for admission. The University can remove one of the primary barriers that keep women from entering by taking a more aggressive stance to the recruitment of older students. One example of the specific strategies the University can use appears in the publication, "Attracting a New Market to Northwestern's Undergraduate Programs: Older Women Living on the North Shore."

University policy should take into account the needs of mothers who want to attend school close to home. Women who can conveniently use this University as their neighborhood school can more easily fit classes into their children's school hours or leave a sick child unattended for a short period of time in order to attend class. Unlike students who travel long distances, a student with a short commute is able to return home to prepare the family's evening meal and return to the campus to use the library or attend an academic function. We, therefore, encourage admissions officers to reconsider their policy of sending qualified local women to lesser institutions to "prove" themselves prior to their re-entry at this elite school.

2. Child Care

The woman who has small children cannot consider coming back to school unless she can make suitable arrangements for child care. Women without adequate resources to do this on their own are forced to delay their education until their children are older. Thus child care becomes a formidable barrier to the woman who wants to continue her studies while raising a family. Recognizing this need, some colleges and universities have sponsored or supported child care centers on or near their college campus. These centers often serve an additional purpose by acting as a training laboratory for students majoring in child development or other social sciences.

This University, like all universities, can make a strong commitment to women in general by establishing a day care program to be used not only by returning women but also by other students, faculty, and staff. In addition, a clearing house, much like the one that presently exists for student housing, could be instituted to provide listing for off-campus day care as well as the names of individuals interested in trading child care services. In order to concentrate and do well in school, the re-entry woman needs to have the security of knowing that her children are well cared for while she attends classes.

3. Financial Aid

Without financial aid, low-income and many middle-income women cannot afford the high tuition of an elite private university. Even when a woman is able to secure financial aid, the cost of books, child care, and other school-related expenses often exceeds the amount of money she receives. Women who need to attend part-time typically are excluded from consideration for financial aid because

most scholarships, fellowships, and federal assistance programs are restricted to full-time students. Under term pricing arrangements, the woman who attempts to pay her own way as a part-time student is faced with per unit tuition charges exceeding those of regular full-time students. Further, many women feel hesitant to take on loans because they have children who will be entering college shortly and are therefore reluctant to tie themselves to financial obligations that may make it difficult for their children to go through school.

The University can help ease the financial burden of the re-entry woman by taking an active role in seeking out funding sources that are particularly applicable to the older student.

It can also help by allocating special funds from existing sources to help women meet those expenses generally not covered by larger grants-in-aid. Some women can manage part-time work, thus work/study programs should be provided to older students as they are to younger ones. Also, employers outside the institution should be made aware that the University has older, mature students who would make excellent part-time employees. Finally, many women report that financial aid and loan applications are confusing because they are often designed with the younger student in mind. To make it easier for all students to receive aid, the University should modify its forms for use by applicants of all ages and backgrounds. Counseling should also be available to anyone having difficulty with the forms.

4. Orientation

Although the University does hold a new student week and special orientation programs to help incoming students learn the campus and feel more at home, the activities and advice given during these programs typically are designed for younger students. Because their concerns can be quite different from those of more traditional students, re-entry women benefit from having an orientation program of their own.

A good orientation program begins with a phone call from a university spokesperson welcoming the returning woman to the university and giving her the opportunity to ask whatever questions she might have. This first contact should be followed by a workshop or special gathering designed to familiarize the woman with the university campus and services available to her. She should also be introduced to some of the faculty and staff helpful for her to know. Other older women who have already returned to school should be present to talk about what they have experienced. These peer-counselors are often an important source of information and serve as role models for the woman beginning her program. Also, as a way of encouraging supportive networks, a list of phone numbers and addresses of returning women who would like contact with one another should be provided to all incoming returning students. Finally, "big sister" programs on the college or departmental level can give each woman a special friend during the early months of adjustment.

At this University, the women's program instituted an annual tea for all older women who had returned to school. Most of the

women who were interviewed as part of this study indicated either that they had attended the tea and found it rewarding or that they would have attended were such an event available when they first started. Re-entry meetings should not be restricted solely to orientation, however, since many women benefit from the opportunity to talk to one another during the entire course of their schooling.

5. Counseling

Good counseling is the backbone to any program designed to help students define and fulfill their career and academic goals. Re-entry women, like most other students, need advice about course planning, degree requirements, financial aid opportunities, and career selection. In addition to these more traditional topics, help in choosing between full-time and part-time attendance, making child care arrangements, finding out how to do remedial work, and determining the best way to arrange their schedules in order to meet multiple role obligations may also be needed by re-entry women. Returning students benefit from four areas of counseling: first contact, academic, personal, and career.

First Contact Counseling

For many women, the need for counseling and support services begins even before they have made the final decision to return to school. They may need help in determining what opportunities are available as well as the costs that they can expect to pay. While there are now counselors that women can see about admission or to talk to about career planning, there is no one with whom women can discuss the fear or anxiety they may have about returning. Further, any uncertainty or ambivalence shown while talking to admissions officers may be perceived as a lack of commitment to the student role. Consequently, returning women need a special counselor whom they can contact while they are in the early stages of making the decision to return. This person should be located away from the admissions office so that there will be no stigma of indecisiveness or lack of commitment attached to a re-entry woman's application when she finally does apply. The position is not meant to take the place of a good academic counselor, but rather to provide an advocate who can support women and prepare them for entering the University.

Academic Counseling

The undergraduates who were interviewed at the University reported that they were generally satisfied with the counseling they received upon entering the University. Once they declared a major, however, it became the responsibility of the individual department to advise those students who declared majors in that area. The idiosyncratic nature of the various departments resulted in somewhat uneven quality of guidance on academic planning in the later stages of a woman's program. This variation was also found at the graduate level where students rely on the advice of faculty who are appointed to act as academic advisors. While some departments offered excellent program and career counseling, others gave perfunctory advice and services. The University can help women plan their programs

more effectively by reviewing departments and offering supplementary services where departments cannot fulfill their responsibilities sufficiently. For example, the counseling office can make it clear to women that they are welcome to return if they feel the need to have someone review their progress and help them plan future work.

Personal Counseling

The woman who returns to school often experiences strong feelings of guilt about taking time away from her family for school. She may also feel anxious or worried about the effect that her schooling may have on the emotional and physical well-being of her husband and children. She may perceive that they resent her new interests as well as any personal changes that may be occurring. Friends and extended family members may make her feel uncomfortable by complaining that they never see her any more or that she is becoming more educated. When these pressures and stresses occur, personal counseling can help a woman to cope with her feelings and perhaps find ways to ameliorate some of the stress.

Most universities do provide special mental health counseling through the Student Health Service, and those women who used the clinic at this elite University gave it a positive evaluation. Many women, however, were unaware that such services were available to them. Others were reluctant to seek help or to expose their problems to a stranger. Getting people to use the available services is a problem that this University shares with many institutions. The University can increase the likelihood that its mental health services will be used by making students more aware that the service exists.

Career Counseling

To help women select a career and prepare for entering the workforce upon graduation, career counseling should be available at three points in their schooling. Upon initially entering the university, counseling should be available to help women define their goals, choose areas in which to begin work, and acquaint them with career opportunities. After study in one or more substantive areas, women often have a clearer idea of what they would and would not like to pursue. At this time, mid-program counseling may be needed to help a woman plan for specific careers or to transfer to programs seem as more personally rewarding. Finally, exit counseling should be available to help women find satisfying and rewarding employment. It would be very helpful to women if workshops and seminars were established to instruct them in such techniques as negotiating for a salary, translating social science training into business skills, and writing a resume. Because many are bound to the local area by family circumstances, returning women may also need special help in locating a suitable job in the community, particularly when they have trained in areas where there is an over-supply of qualified graduates.

6. Remedial Programs

Most elite universities require their applicants to take either the Scholastic Aptitude Test or the Graduate Record Examination. The woman who has been out of school for some time may have difficulties in scoring high enough to qualify for admission. If she does gain acceptance at the university, she may find that the need to improve her skills can place her at a disadvantage relative to students who have never experienced an interruption in their education. To remove barriers to admissions and successful performance as a student, universities need to provide remedial services that help students realize their full potential. This help includes offering special courses and programs where students can learn test taking skills and do the remedial work necessary to bring their academic proficiency up to the standards required for successful classroom performance.

In recent years, women have been encouraged to enter traditionally male occupations and professions such as medicine and engineering. These fields frequently require advanced skills in science and/or mathematics. Expertise in such subject matter deteriorates when not used for extended periods of time. Re-entry women with a break in their education find that they no longer have the skills that allow them to undertake studies in these areas.

Many re-entry students note that the University's least difficult mathematics course presumes a level of knowledge beyond their ability. Respondents expressed a desire for a refresher course that would sharpen their skills and permit entry into the regular program. Such an opportunity to "ease back" into subjects where knowledge builds in increments based on previous course work might help to overcome the consequent tracking of re-entry women into sex-stratified occupations and professions.

Universities make this effort by offering continuing education courses in the evening on such topics as: preparing for aptitude tests, conquering math anxiety, speed reading. These offerings should also be made available as part of the day curriculum so that students who cannot attend classes at night have access to them. At the same time, there are many returning women who are unaware of the remedial services and courses that do exist. The university can help these women by better publicizing those programs that are available.

7. Removing Psychological Barriers

While the university attempts to make the returning woman feel welcome, staff and faculty are too often unaware of possibilities for encouraging applications from older students. Sometimes prospective applicants are told by uninformed individuals that "this isn't the place for suburban matrons" or "we don't accept part-time students." Because such comments are discouraging, the university needs to institute an educational program to make faculty and staff aware of opportunities for returning women. The program should include the information needed to assist returning women in entering

and progressing through their program. In order to minimize confusion and to encourage the re-entry woman to feel less marginal, all documents should be revised to apply to the older student as well as the young. For example, registration forms should be redesigned to offer a question about the name of the student's spouse to substitute for parent when the student is married. Demeaning practices such as mailing older students their grades in envelopes addressed to their parents (or husbands) should be identified and abolished.

8. Role Models and Affirmative Action

Many studies have pointed to the importance of providing female role models for women seeking a higher degree or training to enter a profession. While many universities have made a commitment to increasing the number of women in faculty and administrative positions, women are still under-represented in both of these areas. As long as this inequity exists, both re-entry and traditional women students are disadvantaged in developing the professional identity that makes them likely to complete their educations or to do well in their chosen career. Thus a strong affirmative action program aimed at increasing the number of women in positions of decision making and professional standing must be top priority for any university interested in the education of women. Affirmative action must also be extended to include a commitment against ageism shown in actively recruiting older students. If they can see other students like themselves, re-entry men and women are heartened to complete their educations and enter their chosen fields.

9. Maternity Leave

There are laws that guarantee working women the right to a maternity leave without penalty. The rights of women students, however, have been far less clearly articulated. Unless a woman can carefully schedule her pregnancy, she may find it difficult or impossible to meet the requirements for continued financial aid or to meet certain graduate school deadlines. Unfortunately, as this study discovered, women who become pregnant in graduate school are sometimes regarded as less committed or less serious than other students. To insure that women are treated fairly and without faculty or bureaucratic bias, universities need to set specific guidelines for student pregnancies and make them public to faculty, staff, and students.

10. A Returning Woman's Center and Advocate

During the last decade, a number of universities have established special centers to aid women in making the transition back into the classroom (e.g., Radcliffe, Sarah Lawrence, the University of Minnesota). These centers can act as the first point of contact for the re-entry woman as well as a continuing source of information during the time that she is in school. In addition, a special advocate for returning women can play an important part in making the return to school a positive experience for older women.

One way to create similar centers is to expand the duties of any existing women's programs in the university to include a center for the returning women. The program where this study was conducted has already started to function unofficially in this capacity, and its staff has become sensitive to the needs of women who return to school. To implement such a program, the university would need to create a position for a full-time women's advocate. Her duties could include:

1. serving as a first contact for prospective applicants;

2. acting as a referral agent for special services and programs;

3. acting as an ombudsperson for helping women cut through red tape and resolve the bureaucratic problems that typically occur in all large institutions;

4. keeping track of returning women and following up on those who appear to have problems;

5. co-ordinating the orientation and other special programs and workshops for returning women;

6. co-ordinating referral services for child care in the community;

7. serving as a liaison between returning women and the university and between the university and the community in those areas that concern older students;

8. helping establish programs that lead to the active recruitment of older students in the community.

APPENDIX I

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE FOR RE-ENTRY WOMEN STUDENTS AT A PRIVATE ELITE UNIVERSITY

I. Re-entry and admittance

1. Tell me about what you were doing before you returned to school.
   Probes:
   - volunteer
   - school elsewhere
   - home-maker
   - salaried worker
   - other

2. What is you prior educational experience and where are you in your current program?

3. What made you decide to come back to school? (or) What made you decide to enter graduate school? Can you describe the process?
   Probes:
   - better job
   - life cycle change
   - divorce
   - widowed

4. How long did you deliberate before making the decision to apply?
   Probe:
   - if a long time, ask why

5. Why did you decide to come N.U.?
   Probes:
   - financial considerations
   - location
   - spouse on faculty
   - quality of the department

6. Was there any preadmission counseling available before you applied (i.e., counseling enabling you to explore the resources and opportunities available for the mature woman)?
   If yes: What kind? (ask specifically)
   Probes:
   - financial aid
   - credit evaluation
   - academic planning
   - child care
   - part-time versus full time
   - special programs
   - refresher courses
   - other

7. How did you find admission procedures?

8. Did anyone or anything prove helpful or obstructive? Who or what specifically?

9. When you began the application procedures, did you have an interview with anyone?
   If yes: probe specifically
   - tell me about it

with whom did you speak
did you find them helpful
did they take you seriously as a student
is there any way they could have been more of a help to you

If no:

why not
would you have liked to see someone
what problems or concerns would you have liked to discuss with them

10. What documents were you required to submit in order to be admitted?

Undergrad. probes:

SAT
letters of recommendation
high school transcripts
previous college transcripts

Graduate probes:

GRE
letters of recommendation
previous college transcritps

11. Did you have any problems supplying these?

12. What about SATs or GREs, did you have any problems in taking these?

13. Were there any problems in transferring credits or gaining credit for past work?

II. Transition

14. Did you find it much of a transition to go from home (or work) back to school? Tell me about your first quarter.

15. Was there anyone who was helpful in making the transition or who took a special interest? Were you involued in an orientation program?

16. Anyone or anything which made it difficult?

17. How did you handle that?

18. How did you learn your way around campus?

Probes:

where to buy books
student lounges
places to eat
how to register
student phone numbers
library
other

19. Did you attend any university-sponsored social functions meant to introduce women re-entering academia to one another?

If yes: Did you find it rewarding in any way?
If no: Why not? Would you have liked to?

III. First Quarter

20. How many courses did you take? How many do you take now?

21. How did you select these courses?

22. Did you have any scheduling problems then or now?
    Probes:
    - family conflicts
    - prerequisite requirements
    - bad hours
    - other

IV. Lateral Roles

23. What is your work load as a student in your department?
    Undergrad. probes:
    a. What program are you in?
    b. Are you in honors or regular?

    Graduate probes:
    a. What are the stages in your department that lead to the degree you're seeking?
    b. Where are you in this process?
    c. Which do you feel (or have felt) is the most difficult stage?
    d. Are you a full or part-time student?

If married with children: (if question does not apply , skip to question 26)
Is managing a home, children, (part-time job) much of a problem?

24. How do you manage a home, children, (part-time job) and go to school?
    Probes:
    a. lengthened your day
    b. lowered your standards
    c. simplified or eliminated tasks
    d. increased planning and scheduling
    e. How effective has this been?
    f. personal time
    g. social life

If not married with kids: (If question does not apply, skip to question 27)

25. How do you manage a home, children (part-time job), and go to school?
    Probes:
    a. lengthened your day
    b. lowered your standards
    c. simplified or eliminated tasks
    d. increased planning and scheduling
    e. how effective has this been?

If divorced: Does your former husband help in any way?

Married, no kids:

26. How do you manage a home and a wife's responsibilities while going to school?
    Probes:
        a. lengthened your day
        b. lowered your standards
        c. simplified or eliminated tasks
        d. increased planning scheduling
        e. how effective has this been?

27. When there are time conflicts, what duties do you sacrifice first?

28. Which do you try not to sacrifice?
    Probes:
        a. how successful have you been?
        b. any quilt?

29. Do you have domestic help?
    Probes:
        a. did you have domestic help before you returned?
        b. how often do you have this help?

30. How is the domestic work allocated in your family?

31. How has it changed since you returned to school?

If married: If not married, skip to question 43

32. Does your husband pitch in?

33. What about the grocery shopping, and food preparation, who does these?
    Probes:
        Chauffeur children
        Laundry

34. How did your husband feel initially when you wanted to return to school?
If positive: Would you have returned without his approval?
If negative: 1. What made you decide to return anyway? What problems did his attitude cause you?
2. Did you discuss at that time any problems that might arise?

35. What's his response been now that you're actually going through the program?
    Probe:
        Have you noticed any change in attitude over time?
36. Has he changed himself in any way?
    Probes:
        a. Can you give me any examples?
        b. How does he feel about the changes?
        c. How do you feel?

37. Is your husband a help to you in getting through school?
    Probe:
        How specifically does he help?

38. Is your husband a hinderance at all?
    Probes:
        a. Does he expect you to entertain?
        b. Have the dinner on the table by six?
        c. other

39. Has your return to school affected your marriage at all? How?

40. Do you feel your husband treats you any differently since you returned?

41. Assuming that the student role takes time out from your husband, what do you do to keep him happy?

If Kids: If no children skip to question 56

42. How do your children feel about you being in school?

43. Have they had to take on any extra tasks?

44. Do they complain?

45. Who takes care of the kids when they're sick?

46. Are there times you feel you're not giving them enough time? OR Meeting their need? Have you been able to do anything about this? Examples?

47. Have they tried to make you feel guilty in any way? If so, how? What do they do?

48. How do your grades compare to your children? Does that create a problem?

49. Assuming that the student role takes times away from the children, how do you handle this?

Extended Family

50. What about your parents, in-laws, etc.? How do they feel about your being in school?

51. Do they help in anyway?

52. Are they interested in what you do in school?

53. How much do you tell them about what you do in school?
    Probe:
        If they live far away, what do you write to them about in your letter?

54. Does your student role take any time away from them?
    If yes: How do they feel about this? How do you handle this?

V. Age

55. How do you think of yourself? Young, middle-aged or what?

56. When you came back to school (entered the program), was there much of an age difference between you and the other students?

If yes:

57. Do you think other students were aware of the difference?

58. Did they treat you differently than students of their same age?

59. Did you meet any other people your own age? How? Did knowing them make it any easier for you in any way?

60. Do you think you would have done better academically if you had gone straight through?

61. Did you find it easy to fit in socially with the younger students?

62. How about your dress, did you have to alter them in any way?

63. Do you think professors treated you differently from other students because you are older?
    Probes:
    a. Do you think you relate to the faculty in a different manner than students who are younger?
    b. Is this an advantage? Disadvantage?
    c. Do professors ever appear uncomfortable around you?
    d. Do professors expect more of you?
    e. As an older student, do you expect more of professors than you feel younger students do?

64. How about other students, do they seem to feel comfortable with an older person in the class?

65. Do you feel comfortable in talking about your past experience during open class discussions?

66. Do you ever feel embarrassed to speak in class?
    How are students addressed in your department? How are problems addressed?

VI. Friends (part of lateral roles)

67. What do your friends outside academia think about your role as a student?

68. Has your relationship with those you knew prior to returning (entering graduate school) altered in any way?

69. Do you still see them regularly?

70. If yes: How do you manage to maintain the friendship?

71. Are you close to anyone at the university?

72. How did you come to meet them? (become friends?)

73. Do you talk about your family with these new friends?

74. Do you include them in any of your family activities?

75. What about your family, (husband and children), are you able to share your school experiences with them?
    Probes:
        Bring them to lectures
        Tell them about what you're learning
        Include them in academic social events etc.?

For Graduate students:

76. Is there a graduate school culture? Are you part of it?

VII. Study and Work Management

77. How many hours a week would you estimate that you study or spend on school related activities?

78. How do you feel this compares to other students in your program?

79. How do you think they would compare themselves to you?
    Probe:
        Do other stuients ever resent you?

80. Where do you do most of your work? Why is this your choice?

81. When do you study? Why is this the best time?

82. Do you ever get together with other students to prepare for exams or to discuss papers?

83. Would you say you're a better or worse student than you were in high school? As a undergraduate?

84. How do you compare to other students now?

85. How important are grades to you? Why?

86. Have you found any strategies that make going through the program any easier?
    Probe:
        For advanced knowledge of course requirements through CTEC, other students

87. Did you know which professors to take and which to avoid?
    If yes: Did you ever choose your courses for reasons other than content? Why?
    Probes:
        easy instructor
        hours
        had it before
        other
        professors
        courses whose content areas overlap
        advantageous scheduling

88. What would you consider the single most trying experience since you have been a student?

89. Are there any other experiences that stand out in your mind as being very difficult? Parking, transportation, mean professor, other? What put the greatest pressures on you?
    Probe:
        For parents, shopping, meeting deadlines, entertaining?

90. What has been the most rewarding experience that has happened to you since you've been back?

VIII. Self Perceptions

91. Do you see yourself as having changed in anyway since returning to school (entering the program)?
    Probes:
        have your values changed in any way?
        your personality?
        your behavior (if not mentioned)?

92. Do you find that your graduate (school) experience is different in any way from students who did not have an interruption in their schooling? How?
    Probe:
        Were you as well prepared by your previous schooling?

IX. Role Models

93. Were there any figures in your life- personally known or admired from a distance who influenced your return to school? If so, how?

94. Is there someone you've known or admired whose influenced you since you returned that you've not mentioned? If yes, how have they influenced you?

Faculty

95. Tell me about your relationships with faculty, have you found them readily accessable?

96. Do you ever see them outside of class-related activities? If so, where? How did this come about?

97. Do you work closely with anyone now?

98. How did this relationship develop?

99. Do you see this person as being helpful in any way in the future?
    Probes:
        a. in finding a job
        b. doing further research
        c. as a source of contacts

100. Was there someone you would have liked to work with and didn't? Why?

Finances

101. How are you financing your education?
Probes:
a. Family
b. Husband
c. Assistantship
d. Fellowship
e. Loan
f. Other

102. Have finances been much of a problem?

If yes:
103. Did you apply for financial aid? What happened?

If received aid:
104. What kind of aid did you receive? Is it adequate?
If no, why?
If loan: Do you worry about repayment?

105. Would you have managed your education differently if money had not been a problem? How?
Possible Probes:
a. Might have chosen a differnt school
b. Might not have worked
c. Might have gone part-time instead of full

106. Does your husband object to diverting part of the family income to your education?

107. How about the kids, do they object?

108. How do you feel about using the money in this way?
Probes:
a. do you ever feel guilty using family money?
b. What do you do about these feelings?

Future

109. For your field, what is a typical career pattern like? What is the typical age for finishing college? How do you fit into this? Do you have a sense of belonging?

110. When you first returned to school, did you have any clear ideas about your area of interest: Did this change at all? Why?

111. Did you know what you wanted to do with your degree? Has this changed in any way?

112. What is the job market like in your field? Does this concern you at all? What are your options?

113. When you finish, how do you plan to co-ordinate you career with that of your husband's?

Probe for:

a. Considering moving where they can both work
b. He'll quit, she goes to work
c. She'll take a lesser job to be near him
d. other

114. Will getting your degree result in any major changes in your family?

Probes:

a. divorce
b. move
c. anything not covered above

Recommendations

115. Do you have any special advice you would give to other women returning to school that might make it easier for them?

116. Is there something the administration might be able to do that you think could make it easier for re-entering women?

Probe for:

a. an advocate to cut through the red tape
b. gatherings for re-entry women to meet other women
c. special counselors
d. child care
e. refresher courses
f. orientation for re-entry women

117. Is there anyone you would suggest we talk to?

a. Another returning woman
b. A faculty member who is particularly helpful?
c. A faculty member who is particularly negative or destructive

118. Is there anything we didn't cover in the interview that you would like to talk about or you think would be helpful for us to know?

APPENDIX II

TABLES

Table 1

Reason for Attending this University

	Financial Assistance or Staff Privileges	Location	Quality of School
Undergraduate	26.7% (16)	13.3% (8)	43% (26)
Graduate	8.3 (5)	10.0 (6)	32 (19)
Total N = 60*	34.0% (21)	23.3% (14)	75% (45)

*Responses total more than 100% because of multiple responses.

Table 2

Marital Status at Time of Interview

	Single	Married Living with Male	Divorced, Widowed, Separated
Undergraduate	3.3% (2)	38.3% (23)	8.3% (5)
Graduate	3.3 (2)	36.7 (22)	10.0 (6)
Total N = 60	6.6 (4)	75.0 (45)	18.3 (11)

Table 3

Number of Children per Mother*

	Number of Children				
	1	2	3	4	5
Undergraduate	3	11	7	0	2
Graduate	5	11	5	2	0
Total N = 46	8	22	12	2	2

*Not all respondents had children.

Table 4

Race

	White	Black	Asian
Undergraduate	45.0% (27)	3.3% (2)	1.7% (1)
Graduate	40.0 (24)	6.7 (4)	3.3 (2)
Total % N = 60	85.0% (51)	10.0% (6)	5.0% (3)

Table 5

Religion

	Protestant	Catholic	Jewish	Other
Undergraduate	22.6% (12)	3.8% (2)	9.6% (5)	17.3% (9)
Graduate	21.1 (11)	1.9 (1)	21.1 (11)	1.9 (1)
Total % N = 52	44.2% (23)	5.8% (3)	30.8% (16)	19.2% (10)

Table 6

Income

	3,000-9,999	10,000-24,999	25,000-49,999	50,000-over
Undergraduates	7.0% (4)	15.8% (9)	10.5% (6)	17.5% (10)
Graduates	8.8 (5)	10.5 (6)	15.8 (9)	14.0 (8)
Total % N = 57	15.8% (9)	26.3% (15)	26.3% (15)	31.5% (18)

Table 7

Husband's Occupation*

	Professional	White Collar, Nonprofessional	Blue Collar
Undergraduate	31.2% (15)	14.6% (7)	4.2% (2)
Graduate	37.5 (18)	6.3 (3)	6.3 (3)
Total % N = 44	68.7% (33)	20.9% (10)	10.5% (5)

*Includes all women who were married at any point during their return to school.

Table 8

Difficulties with Application Requirements

	Obtaining Letter of Recommendation	Rusty Skills on Standardized Test	Obtaining Transcript	No
Undergraduate	1.7% (1)	6.7% (4)	5.0% (3)	23.0% (14)
Graduate	11.7 (7)	28.3 (17)	0.0 (0)	28.3 (11)
Total % N = 60*	13.4% (8)	35.0% (21)	5.0% (3)	51.3% (25)

*Percentages total to more than 100 because of multiple responses.

Table 9

Respondent's Family Obligations

	No Children	Children Age 0-4	Children Age 5-12	Children Ages 13 and over	Total
Undergraduate	11.7% (7)	0.0% (0)	28.3% (17)	10.0% (6)	50.0% (30)
Graduate	10.0 (6)	6.7 (4)	10.0 (6)	23.3 (14)	50.0 (30)
Total % N = 60	21.7% (13)	6.7% (4)	38.3% (23)	33.3% (20)	100.0% (60)

Table 10

Husband's Response to Subject's Decision to Return to School

	Positive	Negative	Ambivalent*	Total
Undergraduate	38.3% (18)	4.3% (2)	6.4% (3)	49.0% (23)
Graduate	38.3% (18)	10.6% (5)	2.1% (1)	51.0% (24)
Total % N = 47**	76.6% (36)	14.9% (7)	8.5% (4)	100.0% (47)

*Includes other.

**Includes women who were married when they decided to return to school but who were subsequently widowed, divorced, or separated. Does not include women who were not married at the time of their return nor does it include missing cases.

Table 11

Children's Response to Mother's Return to School

	All Positive	All Negative	All Ambivalent	Mixture of Responses	Total
Undergraduate	31.7% (13)	2.4% (1)	7.3% (3)	4.9% (2)	46.3% (19)
Graduate	24.4 (10)	4.9 (2)	4.9 (2)	19.5 (8)	53.7 (22)
Total % N = 41*	56.1% (23)	7.3% (3)	12.2% (5)	24.4% (10)	100.0% (41)

*N varies from that in Table 3 due to missing data on the question.

Table 12

Reported Sources of Academic Anxiety

	None	Rusty Skills, Exams, Papers	Poor Memory	Competition with Younger Students
Undergraduate	15.0% (9)	31.7% (19)	3.3% (2)	10.0% (6)
Graduate	23.3 (14)	15.0 (9)	16.7 (10)	13.3 (8)
Total % N = 60*	38.3% (23)	46.7% (28)	20.0% (12)	23.3% (14)

*Responses total to more than 100% because of multiple responses.

APPENDIX III

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